512 [516] on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"—on their knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks resting on the heels. Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nut- [306] [515] shells or sea shells, earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 521 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants, silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelters. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. They eat yucca cakes [262] and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats, 824 little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly [856] consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the store of wood 512 for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight, 313 staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying 482 it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

115 a7. --A pretty woman of some twenty years, perhaps less; young
157 wife of A6. Her parents are living and reside, she says, in the village. She is asintu of A1 and a2, arindesu of a3 and a4, aseetasu of a5. She is stupid, egotistical, interested only in herself. She considers herself very seductive, which appears to be (from the Indian point of view, of course) very exaggerated. She systematically refuses to show the slightest interest in the two daughters of her husband, conducts herself very amorously as concerns him.

115 a8 and a9--About six and two years, daughters of the first mar-
●855 riage of A6 and daughters of the deceased daughter of a14. The two
157 children are practically left to themselves. Their stepmother does not bother with them; their father takes care of them when his manly tasks and his wife permit him the time. Their grandmother is their
[603] chief aid and it is to her that they run when they hurt themselves, are hungry, thirsty or afraid. But she herself is absorbed by the cares of her sons, of her stepson (A15) and of her husband. And very often the baby is neglected for entire days, covered with ashes and filth, unless some woman of the group, seized by pity or simply [43] disgusted, takes her and gives her a bath. Most often it is her big sister, precociously mature, who takes care of her, carries her, even though she is scarcely any bigger, feeds her and cleans her up. Both are charming children, gay and hungry for caresses like those who are habitually deprived of them. Their lot is a great worry for the
[181] community. Under this regime of a hard life constantly absorbed by the small tasks, each one of which is hard work, one can with difficulty accept other cares than one's own. And these neglected children are a perpetual source of irritation, of which they are often the victims, even when taken care of. Many times we wondered if we should not take charge of the youngest of the children. They would have given her to us gladly. The baby was so cute that we would have been tempted if the perspective of seeing ourselves having a quarrel on the return trip with the Service for the Protection of the Indians had not, very reasonably, dissuaded us.

115 A10. --About 40 years. He is alonsu of A1, ajunkedisu of a2,
157 ahuinosu of a5, married to a11. His parents are dead. He is amiable and grinning, he suffers from a hernia which he hides under a piece of cloth hanging from his waist. His activity is considerably decreased. He is little interested in our work and not very eager to understand our questions and give us information.

a11. --About 40 years. Wife of A10. She is a "sister" of a2, a "wife" of A1, a "mother" of a5. She is dark, eager and industrious,

833 lively jubilation. Comments are exchanged, jokes made, and even the young children share in the excitement whose motive they are well acquainted with. Sometimes even a small group of men, young women and children, take off in pursuit of the couple and watch the details of the operation through the branches, whispering among themselves and muffling their laughter. The principal actors do not appreciate these goings on at all. However, it is better to take part in them as well as to suffer the taunts and mockeries which greet their return to camp. It also happens that a second couple follows the example of the first and seeks, in their turn, the solitude of the bush. The Indians know and use two positions for coitus. We were not able to find out if they are practiced indiscriminately or if the choice depends on a rule. Whatever the case, besides the posterior position (toãtelosu, a1; inkalékenote, b1—to copulate from the rear) so frequent in South America, another position (uatalãdige, b1) can be described as follows: the woman on her back, the man facing her, the right leg only between the legs of the woman and the left leg outside, so that the two superimposed bodies give the general form of an X.

[66] PARENTS AND CHILDREN

593 163 847 The Nambikwara have few children. Couples without children are not rare, one or two children seem to be a normal number, and it is exceptional to find more than three in a household. Sexual prohibitions and the economic conditions on which they are based which also give rise to abortions, explain this situation. Apparently also Nambikwara formerly had the custom of beating to death the children whose mothers died during childbirth. According to the informants, this practice has been abandoned today.

853 855 The mother gives the breast lying on her side with the child pressed against her. These feedings have no fixed time. The child nurses when he wishes and as much as he wishes. Weaning takes place towards the end of the first year, but up to the age of two or three the infant returns from time to time to the maternal breast.

[514] When a child eliminates at the camp site or inside the hut, the father or mother carefully buries the excrement by digging a small hole which is quickly filled with dry sand. A great deal of care is taken to prevent the children from soiling the camp site and the objects placed near them.

855 863 8. ụ̈erisekihĩndage numĩ sekolaiene elamnihĩ (b1)
The child has urinated! the hide! he is dirty! throw out(the urine)!

Later, when the child can isolate himself but not yet clean himself up, he is seen returning on all fours to his mother and remaining in that position while she applies the small twig in the way that has been previously described.

142 856 All children seem to have a pigmented blotch at birth to which no particular belief is attached. The informants only mention the phenomenon with that positive and detached attitude so striking on their part:

9. ụ̈ĩtte ʂ̂edeʂ̂edednege tõodayige ka ka ka ụ̈dérige (b1)
the children marked with green are born, one day, one day, one day, it disappears.

The disappearance of the blotch actually seems to be very rapid.

593 602 609 One should, naturally, distinguish true parentage and classificatory parentage. The child does not adopt any particular form of conduct towards his "fathers" and "mothers" in the classificatory sense of the word. He treats them like other adults of the group. Often, furthermore, an individual calls a boy or girl much younger than himself father or mother (thus a19 and a20 are "mothers" of A6 and A24).

[597] [601] When an orphan is taken in by a parallel uncle or aunt, the classificatory parents take the place of true parents, and consequently the conduct changes. In general, the Indians do not use [67] a term to distinguish classificatory parents and children from blood ones. When seeking precision, they add the word tauẽttu (a1), tauẽtte (b1): "my little one," to the term for son or daughter (a?kiraru, a?kineru), whose connotation seems thus to be social first of all. The physiological acceptance of this springs from the fact that the word is also used to designate the young of animals, other terms being reserved for relationships of parentage in the human family.

855 157 The Nambikwara feel very real affection for their children, and show it as regards them, and they are repaid in turn. But these sentiments, however real and profound they may be, are often masked behind the nervousness and instability so characteristic of indigenous conduct. Also, as the following example will show, the risk is to let oneself be fooled by apparent indifference, and even momentary rudeness.

Little A16 suffers from indigestion; he has a headache, vomits, passes half the time groaning and the other half sleeping. He is ill, (intikãtu, a1), but no one, parents included, pays the least attention,

855 and he is left alone a whole day. When evening comes, however,
157 his mother cares for him tenderly, removes lice from him while he sleeps, signals to others not to approach, and makes for him a sort of cradle in her arms.

854 A young mother, c21, plays with her baby giving him little slaps
157 on the back. The baby begins to laugh, and she gets excited by the game to such an extent that she hits him harder and harder, so that he cries. Then she stops and consoles him.

736 We saw the little orphan girl a9, whom everyone loves, literally trampled during a dance. She had fallen in the general excitement
858 of the celebration without anyone paying any attention. On the other hand, when they are opposed, children readily strike their
865 mother, and the latter does not fight back. Children are never
861 punished, and we have never seen one of them spanked, nor even the
855 gesture made, except as a joke. Sometimes, a child cries (1) because
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1. The tears of a child are not called by the same name as those shed ritually by adults in the course of mourning. In the first case: to weep, nãṣere, nãdige; in the second: to weep, doriãgeṣere (b1).

he has hurt himself, was in a fight, or is hungry,

10. ụ̃ṭsotnaniena narũdnerajena indõtenajena ũnʔeere (b1) the child cries, he is thirsty, he is hungry, he wishes to eat,

or because he does not want to be deloused. But this last case is rare, for delousing seems to charm the patient as much as it amuses the operator. It is also held to be a mark of interest and affection. When he wishes to be deloused, the child—or the husband--places his head on the woman's knees, presenting the two sides of his head in succession. The operator proceeds by parting hair or looking through the strands. The louse that is caught is immediately crushed. The child who cries is quickly consoled by [68] a member of his family or by an older child. In general, they have little to com-
[861] plain about. Very pampered, rarely scolded, never whipped, they live free, useless and lazy.

854 Also, the sight of the mother and her child is usually full of gaiety and freshness. The mother holds an object out to the baby through the straw of the shelter and withdraws it at the moment the baby thinks he has it:

854 11. kalaɻodnẽ daẽ ɻoʔdnoherẽ (b1)
Take it from the front! Take it from the back!

Or else, amidst great bursts of laughter, she takes the child and pretends to be going to throw him to the ground:

12. ãmdam nõm tebũ nihiɲi (b1)
(The mother) "I am going to throw you!" (the child) "I don't want to!"

855 Reciprocally, the children surround their mother with a tenderness
593 that is demanding and sometimes unquieting. At the time of leaving group b1, we jokingly proposed to a little girl (b5) that we take her with us. Her response was very characteristic, and at the same time similar to that which many other children would have made under the same circumstances:

13. hõdnjẽ odengenãhjen ɻuadaʔjen tamãhnãdaɻe. (b1)
No! I don't want to go! I am afraid! Mama would cry!

And another observation also makes evident the affection which is always present on the part of the child: a father (C20) brings wild honey and begins by giving some to his son (C22), and only then to his wife (c21); the child, worried, watches his father's movements to see if his mother will receive her share.

[862] During the period which precedes weaning, the child lives in as
855 great intimacy with his father as his mother. Like the latter, the
593 father takes care of him, holds him in his arms, wipes up his excrement when necessary, etc. Later, the child lives closer to his mother. She carries him on trips till he can walk, and later he walks at her side. He remains with her at camp or village while his father goes hunting. However, the proprieties of relationships depend first of all on the sex of the child. A father shows more interest in his son than in his daughter, since he must teach him the masculine techniques and occupations: and the same thing is true concerning relationships of a mother and daughter. But as a whole, the relationships of the father with his children show the same
[843] tenderness and solicitude that we have previously mentioned. The father plays with his child while carrying him on his shoulder (alakuiriginare, b1). He makes weapons to fit the size of the child's little arms:

14. mifnde tauirẽtnore ikɔlãagetire (b1)
The father makes arrows for the child.

736 [69] Concerning a young male orphan, nearly an adolescent, it was said to us one day that "he does not go hunting because he has no father to make him a bow." In certain cases, the father must extend his care and, to a certain degree, substitute for the absent

[End Plate IV]

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1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

[End Plate VII]

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Family life: The woman a22 and her baby a23 in a state of ease (cf. p. 106 ff.).

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The shaman of group c (C20) plays with one of his two wives (c21).

824 It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

273 Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful [278] to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green [757] are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit [296] eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

263 The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

262 Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anungçú!"

261 One must know the Indians' gluttony, their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

262 The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what 855 goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

276 Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared 855 with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

[113]

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os Indios do Brasil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

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[411] [245] The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

A rare type of blunt arrow is designed for the capture of birds
223 which serve as playmates to Nambicuara children.

The birds are felled by the impact and caught easily. Some
231 become used to their cruel captivity; a woodpecker (Colaptes
[825] campestris, Vieil) was occasionally imprisoned by a boy under a gourd. No sooner did the child remove the cup than the bird, instead of flying away, would perch upon him. It is true that the Indian nourishes his domesticated birds very well: he constantly feeds them from his own mouth, gently gorging them.

[Fig. 59]

To our intense surprise, as the cephalic measurements of an Anunze woman were being taken, a baby rat fell from the nape of her neck where it had apparently been living cozily, hiding in her hair as in the grass where it was born.

[825] Doves (Chamepelius talpacoti), young vultures (Sarcoramphus papa, Catharista atrastus brasiliensis, Bonap), monkeys and small owls are also domesticated in the Serra do Norte.

Before the days of the Rondon Commission, the Nambicuara were not familiar with the ox, the mule or the dog. They are still afraid of the ox because of its horns; they have a liking for the donkey, whose meat they find similar to that of the tapir.

[246] They are now good friends of the dog, which at first frightened them greatly; they steal a few whenever they can, and these dogs quickly take a fancy to [the Indians] because they are so well fed. In the master's eating gourd there is always room for the dog's muzzle.

● 855 They carry their children in a strap slung over the shoulder and across the chest, which the Cocozu make with straw and the others with cotton.

484 They take along everything they own on the shortest excursions; this is a nomadic habit surviving among a nearly sedentary people.

241 A population as large as that of the Serra do Norte would be unable to subsist exclusively on hunting and fishing. The Indians would be forced to travel far and wide in search of food; they would have been annihilated long ago, or else deprived of those characteristics which only their isolation could maintain.

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

241 415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

278 824 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

386 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (huduhukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [279]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf

[171]

1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Andes and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[283 286] containers; cotton thread (kondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); skeins [855] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sareguêzê--strap used to carry children). [283] The spindle is made of a palm splinter imbedded in a round potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415 924 Kateçú are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.

[See fig. ... (28) p. 30B.]